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Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 PRS-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 /019 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:JCHAMBERLAIN:JC
APPROVED BY PA/M:WDYESS
S/S - MR. BRIDGES
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
PA, S/S, S/PRS
---------- 053855
O 171725Z SEP 76 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 230732 TOSEC 270280

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT PETER OSNOS BY-LINER, WASHINGTON POST, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, HEADED "KREMLIN EXPECTS CARTER WIN (NO MAJOR POLICY CHANGES EXPECTED)"

2. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP NOW EXPECTS JIMMY CARTER TO BE ELECTED PRESIDENT ON NOV. 2, BUT DOES NOT BELIEVE THERE WI BE ANY MAJOR SHIFT IN AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD THE KREMLIN I THE NEW ADMINISTRATION--AT LEAST INITIALLY.

3. THOSE CONCLUSIONS WERE DRAWN HERE FOR THE RULING POLIT BURO BY SENIOR EXPERTS ON THE UNITED STATES BASED ON A DE- TAILED ANALYSIS OF POLLS AND PUBLISHED MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES, PLUS EXTENSIVE TRAVEL THERE. THE VIEWS DO NOT, HOWEVER, REFLECT A KREMLIN ENDORSEMENT OF CARTER.

4. ON THE CONTRARY, SOVIET SPECIALISTS SAY IT WOULD BE "PSYCHOLOGICALLY MUCH EASIER" TO DEAL WITH ANOTHER FORD AD MINISTRATION THAT REPRESENTS--DESPITE ALL THE DIFFICULTIES
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THAT HAVE ARISEN RECENTLY IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS--A

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KNOWN QUANTITY WITH RELATIVELY PREDICTABLE ATTITUDES.

5. ALTHOUGH CARTER'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS, HIS CHOICE OF FOREIGN POLICY ADVISERS AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM HAVE PERSUADED KREMLIN ANALYSTS THAT HE WOULD MAKE NO DRAS CHANGES FROM THE NIXON-FORD YEARS IN THE BASIC APPROACH TO THE KREMLIN, HE REMAINS SOMETHING OF A MYSTERY.

6. "UNDERSTANDABLY," ONE SOVIET EXPERT EXPLAINED, "THAT MAKES US NERVOUS ... THE PERSONAL IMPRINT OF A PRESIDENT I VERY IMPORTANT."

7. SOVIET OFFICIALS WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR A GO DEAL MORE ABOUT CARTER IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS FROM AN AMERIC WHOSE JUDGMENT THEY REGARD HIGHLY: AVERELL HARRIMAN, ELDER STATESMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AN INFORMAL CARTER COUNSELOR AND A FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR HERE. HARRIMAN ARRIVED IN MOSCOW TODAY ON A "PRIVATE VISIT" BUT WITH HOPE OF SEEING PARTY LEADER LEONID BREZHNEV.

8. FROM THE SOVIET PERSPECTIVE PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCE OF A CARTER VICTORY IS THE LIKELIHOO OF FURTHER DELAY IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. UNLESS THERE IS SIGNIFICANT HEADWAY MADE BEFORE THE ELEC- TION--WHICH EXPERTS HERE DOUBT WILL HAPPEN--IT WILL BE INT NEXT YEAR, THEY SAY, BEFORE A SALT ACCORD IS AGAIN POSSIBL

9. THIS RAISES THE PROSPECT THAT THE PRESENT SALT AGREEME SIGNED IN 1972 MIGHT EXPIRE BEFORE A NEW ONE IS COMPLETED, WHICH WOULD REMOVE EVEN THE PRESENT MODEST CONTROLS ON THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. FOR THAT REASON ALONE, KREMLIN SPECIA- LISTS REGRET THE EXPECTED DEPARTURE OF MR. FORD (AS WELL A OF SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER) AND THE LOSS OF NEGOTIATING CONTINUITY.

10. ON THE OTHER HAND, SOVIETS AGREE THAT DETENTE, AS IT STILL KNOWN HERE, HAS GROWN INCREASINGLY STALE IN THE PAST TWO YEARS. SUCH ISSUES AS THE COLLAPSE OF SPECIAL TRADE ARRANGEMENTS, THE ANGOLAN CONFLICT AND WHAT SOPHISTICATED RUSSIANS RECOGNIZE AS A GENERAL RESURGENCE OF U.S. SKEPTI- UNCLASSIFIED

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CISM ABOUT THE KREMLIN HAVE BROUGHT MOMENTUM TO A HALT, A LED, IN FACT, TO SOME REVERSALS.

11. THE BELIEF IS THAT A CARTER ADMINISTRATION WITH A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN CONGRESS (WHICH SOVIET EXPERTS HAV TOLD THE POLITBURO IS A CERTAINTY) WILL BE IN A STRONGER POSITION TO TAKE INITIATIVES THAN THE FORD PEOPLE ARE, PA TICULARLY WITH KISSINGER SO MUCH LESS AN IMPOSING FIGURE

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THAN HE ONCE WAS.

12. THEY BLAME MUCH OF THE TROUBLE THAT HAS ARISEN IN

SUPERPOWER TIES ON MR. FORD'S LACK OF A POPULAR MANDATE AND HIS SUSCEPTIBILITY TO PRESSURES FROM HIS RIGHT FLANK. WHETHER CARTER'S PROSPECTIVE AUTHORITY WILL TURN OUT TO BE A PLUS FOR MOSCOW IS THE MAIN QUESTION.

13. CERTAINLY, THE SOVIETS ARE RELIEVED THAT RONALD REAGA DID NOT RECEIVE THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION AND THAT SEN. HENRY JACKSON (D-WASH.) WAS ELIMINATED IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES. THESE TWO WERE REGARDED AS GENUINE OPPONENTS OF THE KREMLIN WHO DO NOT RECOGNIZE--AS BOTH CARTER AND FORD DO--"THE SERIOUS OBJECTIVE REASON" FOR MAINTAINING TI THAT ARE AT LEAST NOMINALLY DESIGNED TO AVOID CONFRONTATIO

14. THE SOVIETS BRISTLE AT THE HARD-LINE LANGUAGE IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S "MORALITY IN FOREIGN POLICY PLANK" AND ARE WARY OF CARTER'S ASSERTIONS THAT MORE SHOULD BE DEMAND ED OF THE SOVIETS IN RETURN FOR CONCESSIONS. BUT THAT DISPLEASURE IS NOTHING, THEY SAY, COMPARED TO THE ALARM THAT WAS FELT HERE ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF AN "EXTREMIST" LIKE REAGAN. SOVIET PRESS COVERAGE OF THE CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN NOTICEABLY EVEN-HANDED THUS FAR IN APPRAISING THE TWO CANDIDATES, ACCUSING BOTH AT VARIOUS TIMES OF LAPSING INTO ANTI-SOVIET AND "COLD WAR" RHETORIC. THE TOP-LEVEL CONCLUSION THAT MR. FORD WILL BE DEFEATED HAS MADE NO DIS-CERNIBLE IMPACT.

15. KREMLIN SPECIALISTS SAY THEY WISH TO BE SCRUPULOUS ABOUT NOT INTERFERING IN THE AMERICAN ELECTION PROCESS BY SEEMING TO FAVOR ONE CANDIDATE OVER ANOTHER. THAT MAY BE UNCLASSIFIED

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THE CASE, BUT IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE CHAGRINED AT REPORTS LAST SPRING THAT THEIR DIPLOMATS HAD APPROACHED CARTER'S STAFF AND IMPLIED THE KREMLIN COULD BE HELPFUL TO HIM BY ITS ACITONS.

16. ANOTHER REASON THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NO DESIRE TO BE OUT ON A PUBLIC LIMB IS THAT THEY EXPECT THE ELECTION TO BE CLOSER THAN CARTER'S PRESENT LEAD IN THE POOLS. "IT WILL BE CLOSE," SAID ONE SENIOR SPECIALIST WITH CONFIDENC

17. "AND REMEMBER," SAID ANOTHER, "WE HAVE TO LIVE WITH WHOEVER WINS." (END TEXT.) ROBINSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PRESS COMMENTS, ELECTION RESULTS, DETENTE, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE230732
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JCHAMBERLAIN:JC
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760351-1156
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760947/aaaabobf.tel
Line Count: 166
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: vandyklc
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 FEB 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 FEB 2004 by MaustMC>; APPROVED <30 AUG 2004 by vandyklc>
Review Markings:

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US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, PINT, UR, US, WASHINGTON POST, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (CARTER, JIMMY), (OSNOS, PETER)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006